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reversed *w* [Λ]. Professor Grandgent has used the former,² combining it at times with *h*, which must in this case express the on-glide. Professor Vietor uses the latter,³ and also *w*.⁴ Miss Soames follows Professor Sweet⁵ in the use of *wh*—although the latter uses a single letter in his “Organic notation.”

This discussion may be resumed as follows: The sound in question is a voiceless *w*, sometimes with a voiced off-glide, more rarely with a voiceless on-glide. It is in no sense a combination of sounds, and should be distinguished by a single symbol.

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AN AQUATIC IN *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.

In lines 131–134 of *The Ancient Mariner*, Coleridge vaguely reveals, through a fitting atmosphere of unreality, the malign agent that has begun to wreak vengeance on the slayer of the Albatross:

And some in dreams assured were
Of the Spirit that plagued us so;
Nine fathom deep he had follow'd us
From the Land of Mist and Snow.

So the lines ran in the first edition of *Lyrical Ballads*: they suffered no material change in later versions.

However, when he subsequently added the curious marginal gloss that accompanies *The Ancient Mariner* in *Sibylline Leaves*, the poet gave this stanza a peculiar emphasis, reinforcing it by next to the longest and perhaps the most grandiloquent passage in the entire commentary. He explains:

“A Spirit had followed them; one of the invisible inhabitants of this planet, neither departed souls nor angels; concerning whom the learned Jew, Josephus, and the Platonic Constantinop-

litan, Michael Psellus, may be consulted. They are very numerous, and there is no climate or element without one or more.”

Does not this gloss itself call for commentary?

Strangely enough, in the sporadic efforts that have been made during the past sixty years to trace Coleridge's “indebtedness” in *The Ancient Mariner* to various “sources,” one or two of which, for all his discursive reading, he may never have seen, his specific recommendation to consult Josephus and Psellus has passed unheeded. Possibly a latent touch of humor has made his advice seem irrelevant. His reference to “the learned Jew,” it is only fair to say, does not seem to be a clue of remarkable value. If he really means Flavius Josephus, he is apparently either napping or purposely misleading. So far as I can discover, there is nothing in the well-known historian that serves in any way to explain the demonology of *The Rime*; although Josephus' account of Eleazer exorcising evil spirits before Vespasian and his army would in other connections have attracted Coleridge, had he read it.¹ Very likely the author of a recent fascinating article on *Demonology* in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*² could decide whether the poet did not rather have in mind some forgotten erudite of the Middle Ages.³

His allusion to “the Platonic Constantinopolitan,” on the other hand, is easily identified. Coleridge refers to Michael Psellus, surnamed “The Younger” (1018–1079), a late Neoplatonist, who, though in all probability not a native of Constantinople, became a teacher there, and ranks in Byzantine literature as “the great literary light and philosopher of the eleventh century.”⁴ Among his numerous writings is a polemical dialogue directed against the obscure sect of the Euchites, and entitled *Περὶ ἐνεργίας δαιμόνων*,—evidently one of the treatises of which

¹ *Antiq. Jud.* viii, 2, 5; cf. *B. J.* vii, 6, 3.

² Vol. iv, pp. 514 ff.

³ Later:—Could he by any possibility have meant “the learned Jew,” Philo? Cf. Coleridge's *Works*, ed. Shedd, vol. v, pp. 449 ff., and the article on *Angelology* in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*.

⁴ Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byzantinischen Lit.*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. Klass. Altertumswissenschaft* (1897), ix, i, ss. 79, 80, 433 ff.

² *German and English Sounds*, Ginn, 1892, pp. 6, 10.

³ *Kleine Phonetik*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 61.

⁴ *Elemente der Phonetik*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 222.

⁵ *Primer of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1890, pp. 80, 82.

Coleridge was thinking when he put together his marginal gloss. Illustrative of some unusual tendencies in Coleridge's reading, this dialogue might well be quoted extensively for the light it throws upon his studies in mediæval theology and revived Platonism. Here, however, we must restrict ourselves to a few briefer excerpts bearing more obviously upon the gloss in question. There is no need of wasting words in introducing the characters of Psellus' dialogue; a certain *Thrax* is supposed to be retailing to *Timotheus* the occult lore of a Mesopotamian named *Marcus*:⁵

"Marcus," continued I, "are there many kinds of demons?"

"Many?" said he; "there are demons of every possible variety in form and body; for the upper air is full of them, as well as the air immediately around us; likewise the land and the sea and the innermost abysses."

"Well," said I, "if it be not too laborious, enumerate them severally."

"It would be laborious," answered he, "merely to recall those that I myself have cast out. However, if you insist, I shall do my best to satisfy you."

Whereupon he enumerated many kinds of demons, including their names and their forms and the regions they inhabit. In general, so he said, there are six main varieties of demons. First, what he called in his local barbarian gibberish "*Leliourion*," a name signifying *igneous*; this sort roams the atmosphere above us; though from the sacred regions around the moon every demon is banished as a thing profane. Second, the sort that wanders in the air directly about us, a kind often simply called *aerial*. In addition to these, third, the *terrestrial*. Fourth, the *aqueous* and *marine*. Fifth, the *subterranean*. Last, the *lightloathing* and *insensate*. These varieties of demons all hate God and are hostile to men. They are, so to speak, incomparably evil. But the aqueous and the subterranean, and still more the lightloathing are malignant and baleful to the last degree.

So far as concerns lines 131-134 of *The Ancient Mariner*, the baleful genius that "had followed them" would belong in Marcus' fourth division, the *aqueous* or *marine*; just as the "dæmons of the earth or middle air" mentioned in the gloss to lines 345-349 belong respectively

in his third and first. In the gloss to lines 393-397, however, there might seem to be a confusion of species: here "The Polar Spirit's fellow-dæmons, the invisible inhabitants of the element," are heard talking in the air above. Still, whether or not their proper abode is the water, an escape from their usual habitat should give us no concern. Coleridge's poetic master also—his demonology is far more definitely articulated than Coleridge's—permits the evil powers of all the "elements" to gather and parley in the upper atmosphere:

For Satan with slye preface to return
Had left him vacant, and with speed was gon
Up to the middle Region of thick Air,
Where all his Potentates in Council sate;
There without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
Sollicitous and blank he thus began.

Princes, Heavens antient Sons, Ætherial Thrones,
Demonian Spirits now, from the Element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd,
Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth beneath,
So may we hold our place and these mild seats
Without new trouble. . . .⁶

Psellus, I am told, was a main avenue through which oriental demonology passed into Europe. Is it improbable that Milton in his "industrious and select reading" became acquainted with the dialogue *Περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων*? It is by no means impossible that both Milton and Coleridge knew also of a shorter treatise by the same "Constantinopolitan": *τὴν δὲ περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες*.

These references to Psellus and Milton are casual hints for the next editor of *The Ancient Mariner*. Let us hope that he will dive through the flotsam and jetsam of so many previous note mongers, and morosely follow Coleridge "nine fathom deep" to his real sources.

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⁵ I translate from the edition by J. F. Boissonade, Nuremberg, 1838, pp. 15, 16, 17, 18.

⁶ *P. R.* II, 115-126; cf. *Il Pens.* 93-96; *P. R.* I, 39-47; IV, 201.